

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SECTO 04139 211816Z
ACTION SS-25

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O 211720Z MAY 77

FM USDEL SECRETARY AIRCRAFT
TO AMEMBASSY AMMAN NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY CAIRO NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY JIDDA IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE
USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTO 04139

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: FOR, XF, US, UR

SUBJECT: SECRETARY-GROMYKO MEETING ON THE MIDDLE EAST

1. ACTION ADDRESSEES MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING POINTS IN
BRIEFING HOST GOVERNMENTS ON SECRETARY 'S DISCUSSIONS WITH
GROMYKO IN GENEVA ON THE MIDDLE EAST:
--DURING THEIR TALKS IN GENEVA, THE BULK OF WHICH WERE
DEVOTED TO SALT, SECRETARY VANCE AND FOREIGN MINISTER
GROMYKO DEVOTED ONE SESSION OF ABOUT TWO HOURS TO A
DISCUSSION OF THE MIDDLE EAST SITUATION. BOTH REVIEWED IN
GENERAL TERMS THEIR IMPRESSIONS BASED ON OUR RESPECTIVE RECENT
CONTACTS WITH MIDDLE EAST LEADERS ON THE KEY SUBSTANTIVE
AND PROCEDURAL ISSUES RELATED TO A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT.
YOU SHOULD ASSURE YOUR HOST GOVERNMENT IN THIS CONNECTION
THAT WE DID NOT REPEAT NOT GO INTO DETAIL OR REVEAL ANY
SENSITIVE MATTERS THAT WE HAVE DISCUSSED WITH THEM.

--IN DISCRIBING RECENT SOVIET MEETING WITH ARAFAT, GROMYKO

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SAID IT WAS THE SOVIET IMPRESSION THAT THE PLO IS PREPARED
TO RECOGNIZE ISRAEL 'S RIGHT TO EXIST IF ISRAEL WOULD
RECOTNIZE THE RIGHT OF THE PALESTINIANS TO AN INDEPENDENT
STATE. HE ACKNOWLEDGED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PLO IS NOT
PREPARED TO TAKE THIS POSITION OFFICIALLY. FOR OUR PART
WE REAFFIRMED OUR VIEW THAT THE QUESTION OF PALESTINIAN
REPRESENTATIONS

REMAIN THE PRINCIPAL OBSTACLE TO RECONVENING GENEVA AND OUR EXPECTATION THAT, GIVEN THE OFFICIAL PLO POSITION ON NON RECOGNITION OF ISRAEL AND NON ACCEPTANCE OF SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 242, THE ARAB GOVERNMENTS CONCERNED NEED TO CONTINUE SEEKING A REASONABLE WAY TO SOLVE THE REPRESENTATION QUESTION.

--WE ALSO STRESSED OUR VIEW THAT PEACE MUST BE MORE THAN SIMPLY AN END OF THE STATE OF BELIGERENCY AND THE NEED TO CONSIDER STEPS TOWARDS NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS AS PART OF A PEACE SETTLEMENT. WITHOUT GETTING INTO ANY DETAIL, GROMYKO INDICATED GENERAL AGREEMENT WITH THE CONCEPT THAT PEACE SHOULD BE MORE THAN SIMPLY THE END OF BELLIGERENCY. IN RESPONSE TO GROMYKO 'S QUERY ABOUT THE U.S. POSITION ON WITHDRAWAL, TERRITORY AND FINAL BORDERS, WE SAID OUR POSITION CONTINUED TO BE AS SC RESOLUTION 242 AND RECALLED WHAT PRESIDENT CARTER HAD EARLIER SAID ON THIS SUBJECT, EMPHASIZING THE NEED TO GIVE PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE QUESTION OF SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS SO THAT FINAL BORDERS WOULD BE SECURE BORDERS.

--NEITHER WE NOR THE SOVIETS SOUGHT TO GET INTO POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS TO THE VARIOUS SUBSTANTIVE AND PROCEDURAL ISSUES. WE EMPHASIZED OUR VIEW THAT THESE WERE ISSUES ON WHICH THE PARTIES THEMSELVES SHOULD DEVELOP NEGOTIATING POSITIONS.

--GROMYKO PLACED PARTICULAR STRESS ON THE NEED TO REAFFIRM THE IMPORTANCE OF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE AND THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE U.S. AND USSR, AS COCHAIRME, TO WORK FOR A RESUMPTION OF THE CONFERENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE.

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IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE PRINCIPAL SOVIET OBJECTION IN THIS MEETING WAS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY HAVE A ROLE TO PLAY IN MIDDLE EAST PEACEMAKING AND TO GIVE IMPETUS TO JOINT EFFORTS TO RECONVENE GENEVA. WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY MADE CLEAR OUR VIEW THAT IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE A SENSE OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST PEACE PROCESS IF THEY ARE TO BE INDUCED TO PLAY A RESPONSIBLE, OR AT LEAST NOT AN OBSTRUCTIONIST ROLE. IT WAS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE PROPOSED MONTHLY CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS ON THE MIDDLE EAST AND DEVELOPED WITH THEM THE MIDDLE EAST LANGUAGE IN THE GENEVA COMMUNIQUE WHICH YOUR HOST GOVERNMENTS WILL HAVE SEEN.

--IN SUMMARY, THE DISCUSSIONS BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND GROMYKO WERE ESSENTIALLY NON-SUBSTANTIVE, WERE PART OF OUR CONTINUING PROCESS ON EXCHANGING VIEWS WITH THEM IN GENERAL TERMS, AND DID NOT IN ANY LIMIT OR IMPINGE UPON OUR BILATERAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE PARTIES WHICH WE INTEND TO CONTINUE.

2. FOR JIDDA: WE WILL BRIEF PRINCE FAHD ALONG FOREGOING

LINES DURING HIS WASHINGTON VISIT.

VANCE

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NNN

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